LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

ATOMIC WEAPONS: WHAT TO DO?

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(*Congregational Union of England and Wales*)

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COMING EVENTS

In letters reaching us from the U.S.A. and Canada the accent today is on—slump. A reader in a southern state illustrates this from the newspaper trade. In New York, Chicago, Washington and elsewhere, he writes, newspapers 'are consolidating jobs, laying off reporters, rewrite and desk men'. Local journals face bankruptcy; a long-established New York daily fails and throws 600 out on the street. He comments: 'Things are getting tough when newspapers start drawing in their horns, as I think they are most sensitive to a coming storm and a good index of what is to come'. Then in brisk style he adds his praise of *Labour Monthly*, particularly welcoming the increased size, and sends a donation. From Virginia a reader describes the fratricidal split in the unions due to witch-hunting, always the precursor of a savage attack on living standards. From Louisiana comes a comment on how little the U.S. public is given the facts, with congratulations to us for 'doing a swell job' in informing the peoples of both countries, and with a donation. A Tennessee trade unionist also sends some dollars and new subscriptions to 'your unexcelled magazine' and a New York reader remarks that we are 'very solid, satisfying and to the point—virtues that too many of our progressive publications lack'. Across the frontier in Canada, deep in the Rockies, a Scottish immigrant of 1921 vintage vividly describes the feverish fear of slump and war, 'with post-war boom nearing bust'. He speaks bitterly of 'the lie factories' of radio and press, 'yelping gleefully over their cold war as, after all, it keeps the U.S. economy from collapsing. Tied to the apron strings of the dollar-drunk megalomaniacs are Canada and Britain'. Sending five dollars in 'warmest appreciation of the lead you give toward an understanding of world affairs', he remarks: 'I cannot remember when I first started to study *Labour Monthly* years back, but I was always enthusiastic over R.P.D.'s Notes of the Month'. And from the Yanks' European colony, Western Germany, comes a letter from a leader of the organisation of the former political prisoners of the Nazis, describing their present difficulties and the attention they pay to the fight for peace. He adds: '*Labour Monthly* is still the only magazine with a real good Marxist basis which I can read here, with always a world-wide picture from the Marxist point of view'. And still, of course, he has to rely on a British reader passing a copy on to him.

TO WHAT HEIGHTS!

Back to Britain. We have had a big post-bag praising the article in March on the Jubilee of the Labour Party: 'it reminded me of just how much I should have known properly before', and 'a real storehouse of facts' were typical. Noteworthy was the interest of some veterans—a 'young fellow of 76' in Derbyshire, for example, and a West of England trade unionist of 77 whose union membership dates from 1897. Letters of congratulation on the increase to 48 pages still pour in. One makes a specially interesting point. Writing from Essex he says: 'The "new" L.M. is a tremendous step forward.

Continued on inside back cover.

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Vol. XXXII. No. 4

CONTENTS

April, 1950

Page

NOTES OF THE MONTH: After The Election, by R.P.D. 145
ATOMIC WEAPONS: A SYMPOSIUM 157
CHINA CHOOSES: by Madame Sun Yat-sen 165
CARTOONS 168
A LABOUR INDEPENDENT LOOKS AT THE ELECTION: by D. N. Pritt, K.C. 174
THE ELECTION: A FACTUAL SURVEY: by H. Fagan 177
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO 180
UNCLE SAM'S NEW RECRUITS: by James Klugmann 181

Book Reviews:
Selected Philosophical Essays, by N. A. Dobrolyubov: *C. Allen* .. 187
The Story of Atomic Energy, by Frederick Soddy, F.R.S.: *E. H. S. Burhop* 188
Books on the U.S.S.R.: *L. Elliott* 189
Industrial Peace in our Time, by Hubert Somerville: *James Davidson* 191
SHORTER NOTICES 192

Notes of the Month

After the Election

THE election is over. The crisis remains. Nothing has been solved by the election. No question has been answered. All the grim consequences of the disastrous official policy of the Churchill-Attlee-Bevin Cabal, which is leading Britain to destruction, the dilemmas of the deteriorating economic situation, of the advancing slump over the capitalist world of the dollar stranglehold and of mounting arms expenditure continue to bedevil the new Attlee Government in March no less relentlessly than in January. More. The deteriorating political situation and measure of instability arising from the election becomes itself a new intensifying factor in the advance of the crisis. In face of the most formidable and urgent problems of modern times before the British people demanding the greatest strength and energy of leadership, initiative and achievement, the new Government arising 'refreshed' from the consultation of the people can only offer a make-believe programme (covering the real programme of war and

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scarcity) to deal with the pressing questions of trawlers, allotments, cattle-grids and midwives. Such is the measure of degeneration to which an obsolete political system has reached. The election of February, 1950, can only be regarded, not as a landmark of political advance, like 1945, but as a further stage in the development of Britain's crisis, and a prelude to deeper conflicts. To the economic and military bankruptcy of the old Britain is now added the visible confusion and bankruptcy of the existing political institutions.

The 'Rout of the Left'

In vain the official apologists seek to console themselves for the election outcome by celebrating with a boisterous glee, which betrays their real fears and premonitions, and in a united Tory-Labour chorus in which the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Herald* sing together with a single voice, the 'rout of the Left'—of the Communist and Labour Independent candidates, who alone presented a progressive alternative—in the election. It is understandable that Toryism should rejoice in such a victory. But when Labour supporters are called on to join in the Tory rejoicing, this is as intelligent as when the Social-Democrats of Germany were called on to rejoice in the victory of Hindenburg over Thaelmann, or in the turning of the lash of the police offensive against the Communists before it was turned against themselves. These short-sighted pygmies fail to realise that they are celebrating the advance of reaction. They fail to realise that the heaviest discredit of this electoral outcome has fallen upon an unrepresentative electoral-parliamentary system which has eliminated every independent voice from parliament and handed over the representation of the people to the control of ruling party machines united in essentials on an identical programme against the people. The fight of the Left against such a situation and such a programme will be abundantly justified by the historical outcome.

Shamefaced Coalition

If it was calculated by a February election to be able to postpone the more unpopular measures of the offensive against the standards of the workers and those with lower incomes until the figleaf of a 'popular mandate' would enable a new Government with a stable majority to put through the offensive, that calculation has miscarried. A spurious electoral consultation, in which the ruling party machines, dominating every means of expression, presented to the overwhelming majority of electors an unreal choice between identical programmes, has resulted in so closely equal a division that the meas-

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ures of the offensive have now to be operated by the visible agreement and co-operation of the rival party machines which a moment before were supposed to be locked in mortal conflict. The secret veiled coalition of before the election, which at the time was unmasked only by the Left, is now forced into the open to become the '*secret de polichinelle*', the indecently exposed 'backdoor coalition' proclaimed from the housetops and discussed in every newspaper, the coalition of the 'agreed programme' and of the 'non-controversial administrative action', which has become the 1950 version of 1931.

From 1931 to 1950

Even the relative honesty of the 1931 coalition, with its consequent scission of the Labour Party, is no longer judged possible. The banns of marriage are replaced by a guilty and unstable liaison. Any hint of a coalition character about the 'non-contentious' programme must be hotly denied from the Ministerial benches, amid laughter from the Tory benches. The paralytic impotence of the most anæmic King's Speech of modern times, presented as the voice of thirteen million Labour voters, must be solemnly debated as a constructive programme. The old parliamentary game of Musical Chairs and Follow-My-Leader and Bring-Out-Your-Silk must be nightly performed in the lobbies, as the coalition partners eye one another suspiciously, not because of any basic division of policy, but because each is watching for the favourable moment to trip the other up. While this parliamentary comedy mocks the wounds of the nation, the signs of the slump advance, the offensive on standards is carried forward, the war drive is intensified, and all the deep class divisions and gathering conflicts, which were artificially suppressed from expression in the election, burst out in the world of reality.

How Did We Get Here?

Never were the contradictions of capitalism more manifest, more deep-seated or more clamant for action than in the mortally sick Britain of 1950. But the 'Red Flag' is no longer sung at the assembly of this parliament. Any whisper of socialism is anathema: indeed, the most wounding offensive charge which Mr. Churchill delivered against Mr. Attlee in the course of the election was to accuse him of having declared to an American journalist that his aim was socialism—a charge which Mr. Attlee hotly denied as a gross and flagrant piece of misreporting. Any positive constructive action is ruled out. In the face of this situation, is it not time for all sections

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of the working class movement, for all serious socialists and Labour men and women, to ask themselves the question: How have we reached this point from the high hopes of 1945? Why have five years of Labour Government led to this measure of Tory revival—in Britain, as in all the countries of the American orbit? What has happened to the 'grand advance to Socialism—Western model'? And above all, where do we go from here?

Second Historical Lesson

We are living through the second great exposure of the outcome of Social-democracy—and this time the centre of the exposure is in Britain. After the first world war history demonstrated in classic form the fate of two countries, Germany and Russia, the practical experience and the outcome of the two paths before the working class—the path of Social-democracy and the path of Communism. In Germany Social-democracy dominated the working class, squandered the achievements of the 1918 revolution, and in the name of empty talk of the peaceful evolutionary advance to socialism concentrated its fire against the left and rebuilt the power of the monopolies and militarism, until after fifteen years the road ended in fascism, which let loose barbarous war upon the world. In Russia Communism led the working class, cleared out the capitalists and landlords, and within fifteen years, by the time Hitler came to power in Germany, had demonstrated with the fulfilment of the first Five Year Plan the triumph of socialist construction alongside the ravaging crisis of the capitalist world; and thereafter completed the construction of the first socialist society in history in time for the invincible strength and heroism of the new socialist civilisation to save mankind from fascist barbarism.

After Five Years

Today the pace of events is more rapid, and the canvas of demonstration is broader. After the second world war the centre of Social-democracy, discredited and shattered over Continental Europe, is transferred to the more retarded political development of Britain. Just as Britain at the turn of the century was still in the grip of the old Conservative-Liberal alternation, and had not yet evolved a political labour movement, at a time when strong Marxist Parties were already established in the European countries, so Britain today is going through the same cycle of mass Social-democracy and Social-Democratic Governments experienced in Western and Central

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Europe between the wars, at a time when the majority of the European working class in these countries has already advanced to Communism. Sturdy old John Bull follows step by step in the footsteps of his nimbler-witted Continental colleagues, but always a generation behind at each stage. But the contrast today is no longer only with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, marching forward now in the vanguard on the road from socialism to communism. The contrast is also with a whole series of new States, the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, not to mention People's China, one third of humanity advancing under Communist leadership. And already within five years after the end of the war the contrast between the outcome of the two paths is overwhelming.

Look On This Picture

War devastation was trifling and superficial in Western Europe, compared with Eastern Europe. Dollar subsidies have been poured into Western Europe, compared with Eastern Europe, supposedly for 'recovery', actually for maintenance of the capitalist system ('against communism') and for extending American economic penetration. Yet the United Nations Yearbook for 1949 has had to admit that it is precisely in war-devastated dollar-starved Eastern Europe, under Communist leadership, that the economic recovery has outstripped all other countries and provided a staggering contrast to the economic chaos and insoluble economic contradictions of Western Europe. By the end of 1949 the Soviet Union, with ravages of war destruction on a scale never before paralleled in history, had reached a level of production 53 per cent. above pre-war; the real income of its workers was 24 per cent. above pre-war, and of its farmers 30 per cent. above pre-war; and with the further all-round reduction of prices, the fourth since the war, and revaluation of the rouble (the opposite of devaluation) in February, this has meant a still further advance of real incomes equivalent to ten thousand million pounds, or fifty pounds a head, for the whole population. The political reflection of this advance has been demonstrated in the Soviet elections of March. In the People's Democracies the foundations of socialism have been securely established; all the resources of their countries are in the hands of the working people, led by the working class; the old capitalist elements are reduced to impotent conspiracies which the foreign embassies seek vainly to foment; and the fruits are being reaped in rapidly rising standards and social and cultural advance.

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And On This

Contrast the picture of Britain after five years of Labour Government. In 1945 the mass of the British people, carried forward in the liberating enthusiasm of victory over fascism, sought also to advance to a new social order, and to end with the old discredited Tory rule. But they looked to the Labour Party to lead them in accomplishing this change. After five years the outcome is revealed. No change in class relations has been achieved. No step has been taken to socialism (for the limited measures of nationalisation in minority auxiliary sectors of economy, with compensation to leave the former owners better off than before, and with Big Business directors in charge, have no more in common with socialism than the similar measures of Bismarck, Hitler or Tsarism). Monopoly class ownership of the wealth of Britain is more strongly entrenched than ever. The record of fortunes left at death in 1949 revealed one tenth of the property-owners leaving property at death owning nine tenths of the fortunes left. Profits have reached the highest records in the history of capitalism in Britain. Real wages have been depressed by rising prices, the wage-freeze, devaluation and ever increasing burdens of taxation. The much-boosted Lloyd-Georgian liberal capitalist reforms and extensions of the social services have been more than outweighed by the increases of indirect taxation. The glories of Ascot and lavish West End ostentatious expenditure have been revived, while masses of the people cannot even buy their rations and seek vainly for a home. Over all hangs the cloud of dollar-dependence, economic insecurity and the fear of the approaching slump.

Squandering the Gains of 1945

The political reflection of this bankruptcy has been the election of February, 1950. Each of the three Labour Governments has been followed by a heavy reduction of Labour representation in parliament. The Labour Party in office, with all the levers of government in its hands, with an absolute parliamentary majority to enact any measure, has proved incapable of holding and consolidating the majority of 1945, or building a firm alliance of the overwhelming majority of the working population, led by the working class—the indispensable basis for the achievement of socialism—against the minority of big monopolists and landlords and their hangers-on. On the contrary, the Labour Party lost even the allies of the working class won in 1945, the unstable elements among whom floated back to Toryism. The Labour Party repudiated class politics, concentrated its fire against the left, and sought to woo the middle class by

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approximating its policies and expression to those of Toryism. Thereby they only succeeded in rebuilding the prestige of the discredited Tories, frustrating and disheartening their working class support, and losing the middle class support they sought to win. Experience of all countries has always shown that, only when the working class is united, strong and militant, with a courageous and confident leadership and policy to challenge the old vested interests, then the wavering intermediate social elements, always veering to what may appear the stronger side, move over to alliance; but as soon as weakness, division and ineffectiveness appear in the working class ranks, these same elements drift back to the ' safe ' traditional anchorage of the old ruling class. If Toryism, despised and rejected in 1945, was able to restore its fortunes in 1950, it was Right Wing Labour that made it possible. Once again the harsh lesson has been driven home. As with German Social-democracy between the wars, as in Australia and New Zealand last year, so in Britain this year Right Wing Labour has led the way to the revival of Toryism.

A Totalitarian Victory

The lesson of the vote of February, 1950, is indeed worthy of study. For the vote may be analysed in two different ways: one way reveals the present, the other the future. If we confine our attention to the official programmes and policies of the major parties, the vote revealed an overwhelming majority for the present dominant ruling policy of monopoly capitalism and imperialism—the policy of the American alliance, wage-freeze, cold war, Marshall Plan, Atlantic Pact, colonial war, economy cuts and rearmament. On all these, the main contentious practical issues of the present political situation (as opposed to empty phrases in the air and slogans), the three major parties of monopoly capitalism—Labour, Conservative and Liberal—were in complete agreement in their official programmes and top leadership. The labels on the packet might differ. In one case it might be called ' the Right Road '. In another case it might be called ' Going Forward Together '. It might be proclaimed as ' Setting the People Free ' and ' Sound Administration '. Or it might be acclaimed as ' the Welfare State ' and ' the Social-Democratic Revolution '. But the content was the same. The three parties were in practice sub-divisions of the single American War Bloc, appropriately decked out with varying slogans to give the electorate the illusion of freedom of choice. This American War Bloc, having monopolised for itself 99.6 per cent. of broadcasting time, and 99.6 per cent. of press publicity, successfully secured 99.6

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per cent. of the popular vote. The Opposition, represented by the Communist and Labour Independent candidates (in practice restricted by financial penalties to one sixth of the constituencies), obtained 0.4 per cent. of the votes (or 2.4 per cent. of the votes in the constituencies contested). A truly resounding triumph of the American War Bloc to demonstrate virtually unanimous popular support for the policies of the capitalist dictatorship. Once again the ingenious Anglo-American electoral system had accomplished its customary *legerdemain* to ensure that millions of electors should vote for policies to which they were in fact opposed (e.g., the wage-freeze) in order to defeat the rival candidate.

A Pyrrhic Victory

Indeed, the triumph was too complete. Every opposition voice was removed from parliament—thereby striking a blow at illusions in parliament as the forum of the nation. The gulf between the formal electoral-parliamentary representation of the people through the ruling party machines (with the overwhelming majority of the electors having no practical participation in the choice of the candidates brought before them or the programmes presented to them), and the deep class divisions, contradictions and gathering conflicts in the country, has been intensified by the outcome of this election. It was easy to banish the advancing slump from the electoral platforms of the dominant parties under cover of hypocritical promises of permanent full employment under capitalism. It is less easily banished from the world of reality. The demand of millions for peace, stimulated by the American announcement of the decision to manufacture the H bomb, momentarily burst through the make-believe of electoral deception. But the poll recorded the one hundred per cent. triumph of candidates supporting the American war policy. At the very opening of the election campaign three and a-half million trade unionists registered their rejection of the wage-freeze; and the capitalist press admitted that if the same ballot as was taken by the miners in the pits had been taken of all the workers, it would have revealed the unanimous rejection of the wage-freeze by the working class. But the poll recorded the one hundred per cent. triumph of candidates committed to the wage-freeze as the chosen representatives of the workers who were opposed to it. A remarkable victory of an electoral system designed to prevent the expression of popular opinion. But a Pyrrhic victory—since the wage-fight continues, and the wage-freeze has been mortally stricken, not by the votes of the electors, but by the resistance of the workers.

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Muzzling the Watchdog

In the old Munich parliament twelve years ago the single voice of Gallacher denounced and exposed the treason of Munich at a time when all the Churchills, Attlees and the rest of them acquiesced and only awoke to criticise too late after the deed was done. They can be easy now; their brazen cheeks need no longer blush or fear the voice of the accuser. They have silenced that voice from the present parliament to put through their new and worse Munichs.

> We know that not till you were dumb
> The dance of all the dirt began.

But the silencing of that mighty and heroic voice of the people from the present parliament has only trumpeted aloud for all the world to hear and for all time the depth of the political degradation of the present reactionary parliament below even the level of the Munich parliament. Awakening followed Munich, and Gallacher was vindicated against them all. The voice of Gallacher and the Communist Party is not stilled in the country, however much the servile press may seek to smother it in the mantle of clamorous silence and lies. Awakening will no less certainly follow the present deeper Munich degradation.

Inescapable Class Divisions

For the election of February, 1950, did not only register the totalitarian 99.6 per cent. victory of the programme of the capitalist dictatorship, the programme of war and reaction. It registered at the same time the deep division of the country, despite the coalescence of policy of the party machines at the top. Never before, as every commentator has had to admit, has there been so complete and inescapable a division along class lines in an election vote as in this election. The deep instinct of class solidarity and hatred of Toryism as the class enemy, which the workers sought to express in the conditions of the electoral system by voting Labour, was in glaring contrast to the identity of programmes of the leadership on both sides. Equally the political analysis of the election by D. N. Pritt, and the statistical analysis by H. Fagan, bring out this character of class confrontation revealed in the election vote, in contradiction to the identity of the official programmes. This contradiction was not only the key contradiction of the election. It is the key contradiction of the present political situation in Britain. And this contradiction is the driving force and guarantee of future progress.

Towards the Future

The class polarisation which eliminated every third alternative,

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eliminated also, by the irony of the situation, the candidates who were alone giving clear political expression to the class battle which the workers are seeking to express by voting Labour. At the existing stage of political development this elimination was understandable. Its conditions will not last. Not without reason the politicians of the old order look with alarm at the prospect opened out by the deepening class division revealed in the election—the diagrammatic and geographical demonstration of Disraeli's ' two nations ':

> It was a significant and serious fact that the differences which separated them had become more pronounced by the fact that the main parties had increased their strength in those parts of the country where they were already the stronger. We should not survive by splitting into two nations; yet that was the road we were travelling now, and there was no sign of our reaching or even approaching journey's end.
>
> (Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons, March 7, 1950.)

The politicians of the old order understand very well that, once that same elementary class consciousness and class solidarity, which has found distorted expression today in the conditions of the existing electoral system by voting Labour, advances to clear political expression, to class politics, to Communism, the hour of the end of their order will have sounded, and the foundations of working class power will be unbreakable.

Class Consciousness and Class Politics

It is still an elementary stage of class-consciousness in the political field, below the level of class-consciousness already reached in the industrial fight. It is still limited by the acceptance of a leadership and policies which openly repudiate and betray the class basis of their support. It is still limited by reformist illusions—the remnants of the liberal past of faith in capitalism. The full employment swindle—which in times to come will be remembered as the historic swindle of this election—was still able to hold the mass of the workers with hopes of full employment in a progressive capitalism, on the basis of the contrast of their immediate situation with the inter-war years, at the very same time as the leaders who were playing on this contrast were pursuing precisely the same policies of cutting real wages, the economy drive, trade war and Mondism as led to mass unemployment between the wars. While the workers were in fact turning out more output than ever before, piling up profits for their masters on a scale never before equalled, and receiving in return crumbs from their own output as social services, which even so they had to pay for and more than pay for out of their wages by increased indirect

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taxation, they were still at the stage of being grateful for the crumbs rather than fighting against their intensified exploitation.

The Battle Opens Out

But the further development of the crisis will teach its lessons—provided that the Marxist vanguard fulfils its rôle of leadership in the struggle. The ground for reformist illusions grows daily more narrow in the crumbling structure of present-day British imperialism. In the new political situation which now begins to unfold itself after the election the conditions are ripe for the advance of the united mass movement under the leadership of the Left. Six million trade unionists who duly voted for the Labour candidates of the wage-freeze today march forward against the wage-freeze. The fight for peace draws in ever wider numbers, at the same time as the Government and official 'Opposition' unite in pursuit of the aims of atomic warfare and rising arms expenditure at the expense of social needs. As the crisis deepens, as the attack against the standards of the people is driven forward, as the fiasco of the dollar exports drive reveals the bankruptcy of the official economic programme, and as the Right Wing Labour Government and Toryism draw closer together in the offensive against the people, so the signals sound ever more imperatively for a new initiative of political advance to confront the mass assault of reaction.

Towards New Political Landmarks

The present deadlock arising from the practical coalition of Right Wing Labour and Toryism cannot continue indefinitely, and will have to be broken if new political advance is to be achieved. The elementary class consciousness, which sought to find expression in the election in voting Labour, and which was frustrated and distorted by the policies of Right Wing Labour and shackled by the bonds of the two party system, will need to break these bonds and move forward to effective political expression, to conscious class politics, which is expressed only in the programme and policies of the Communist Party and the Left. This is the indispensable next stage of the British Labour Movement. This is the significance of the fight of the Left, of the Communist and Labour Independent candidates at the election, which has prepared the way for the new stage of advance. This new advance will require a break with old traditions and a new orientation in the political field not less significant than the break with the old Liberal-Labour traditions half-a-century ago and partial advance to separate Labour representation, though not yet to inde-

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pendence of capitalist politics. But the new step is in fact the necessary and inevitable completion of the first. The battle in front may still prove long and arduous. It may have to pass through many new forms and new alignments which will develop with the progress of the struggle. But the victory of the Left in the labour movement, the transition to the recognition of Communist politics as the politics of the working class, is the indispensable condition for the future victory of the working class and its allies. As the sequel to this election further unfolds itself, as the deepening crisis gives rise to new contradictions and new alignments with the advance of the class struggle, what may still appear as the paradox of today will become the commonplace of tomorrow: that the defeated Left of the election of February, 1950, will emerge as the final victors from the outcome of the election.

March 19, 1950. R.P.D.

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ATOMIC WEAPONS: A Symposium

The Editor of 'Labour Monthly' wrote to a number of leading personalities in public life regarding 'the present continuing deadlock over the question of atomic explosives. The longer this deadlock lasts between the American (Baruch) scheme and the alternative Soviet Russian proposals, the greater becomes the risk of a war in which these atomic weapons will be used. Nothing but good can come of open and public expressions of opinion on this danger'. The Editor therefore invited a brief answer to the question:

> WHAT STEPS DO YOU THINK SHOULD BE TAKEN TO PREVENT THE USE OF ATOMIC BOMBS IN ALL FORMS, URANIUM AND LATER DEVELOPMENTS?

We print below messages from the Rev. Leslie Cooke and the Rev. B. C. Plowright, of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, Lady Parmoor, Gerald Bailey, J. D. Bernal, Fred Longden, M.P., Dame Sybil Thorndike, Joseph Needham, F.R.S., and Dorothy Needham, F.R.S., Dr. E. H. S. Burhop, Dr. G. O. Jones, Rutland Boughton, Douglas Goldring.

From **REV. LESLIE E. COOKE** (General Secretary) and **REV. B. C. PLOWRIGHT** (Secretary of the Life and Work Committee), of the **Congregational Union of England and Wales.**

(1) The Congregational Union of England and Wales is a member of the World Council of Churches, and as such is in general agreement with its manifesto of February 24. This manifesto was drawn up by the Executive Committee at its meetings in Geneva, and the Rev. Leslie E. Cooke, Secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, is a member of that Executive.* In this connection we also call attention to our letter to *The Times* of February 13. These commitments seem to us to imply:

(2) The extension of the present international agreement concerning the use of gas in warfare to the use of atomic bombs and of

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* '... The counsels of both Christian faith and political wisdom lead us, therefore, to urge that the representatives of this country on the United Nations Organisation should be instructed to press for the complete outlawing of the use of the bomb'.

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all substances and instruments arising from the processes of nuclear fission.

(3) A new and urgent appeal by international voluntary organisations to the United Nations Organisation and to the constituent bodies of the associations throughout the world for a fresh and determined effort both by U.N.O. and the world organisations to bridge international differences, psychological, political and economic, between the nations, and to ensure a lasting, genuine and just peace.

(4) We are bound to add from our own angle that neither (2) nor (3) can find an effective sanction except in the acceptance by U.N.O. and by the separate nations of a standard of an ethical and political judgment over and above that provided by the separate interests of the nations and, for us, this ultra-national standard is the will of God revealed in Christian Gospel.

From **LADY PARMOOR** (Society of Friends)

Steps to prevent the use of all Atom Bombs:

(1) The calling of a Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to consider:

(a) Proposals for the easing of East-West tension and in particular the control of Atomic Energy.

(b) All round drastic reduction of Armaments on the lines of Senator McMahon's proposal that the nations should agree to reduce by two-thirds their present spending on armaments, and devote the money to constructive purposes.

Note.—This should not be connected with Marshall Aid.

The Special Session should be held in Europe, possibly in Moscow.

(2) The British Government should take the initiative in proposing the calling of such a Special Session, and also consider any other steps which might promote better understanding between the nations concerned, including consultation between the Governments at a high level.

(3) The education of public opinion in this country as to Russian objections to the Baruch Plan and the concessions which she has made towards agreement.

From **GERALD BAILEY**

Director of British National Peace Council (1930-1949), Acting Chairman of the International Liaison Committee of Peace Organisations.

Since bombs—atomic or hydrogen—are, like all other weapons

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of war, merely symptoms of a deeper distrust between those who manufacture, harbour or prepare them, the best, and in the long run, the only safe guarantee against their use is a concerted and sustained policy of positive 'peace-making' and reconciliation which will relax tension, restore confidence and promote habits of peaceful co-operation. Being British I want Britain to take a lead in evolving such a policy, but I believe success depends as well on a more active readiness than has hitherto been shown by the Soviet Government to meet the reasonable anxieties of the West in regard to certain aspects of Russian policy. If peace is desired *all* must proceed all along the line with *peaceful* intent and determination.

An agreement on atomic energy control is necessary as a vital fact of such a general settlement and to achieve it there is required an advance by the West from the U.N. majority proposals towards the Russian position—recognising the reasonableness of Russian objections to the majority plan. But the Soviet Union may well need to be prepared to advance somewhat further towards a more effective inspection and control system if the necessary compromise basis is to be achieved. In brief, what is wanted is a little more give on both sides. We must get it if humanity is to be saved!

From **J. D. BERNAL**, F.R.S.
(World Peace Committee)

The proposal to make the hydrogen bomb has made it clear to everyone the futile horror to which the use of science for warfare has led. Still less than the atom bomb, the hydrogen bomb cannot be considered a military weapon leading to a decision in war. It will produce directly, widespread and incalculable destruction of human life and may add to this radioactive products which may do incurable damage on both sides. It cannot even be used as a threat. If it proves practicable to build it, there is no reason to suppose that the Soviet Union may not have it as soon as the United States. Something must be done, and soon, to put an end to all such forms of warfare.

As a first step it might be valuable for people to urge their governments to declare that they would not use the hydrogen bomb unless an enemy had used it first. Alternatively, as Professor Joliot-Curie has suggested—that the first government to use an atomic weapon should be declared a criminal. This would certainly reinforce the determination of an increasing number of scientists to have nothing

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to do with the manufacture of such weapons. Already, all the research workers and staff of the French Commissariat of Atomic Energy have solemnly declared that they would leave the establishment if they were asked to work on an atomic bomb. The only safe course in the long run is an absolute ban, not only on the hydrogen bomb but on all atomic and bacteriological weapons.

All governments should clearly and explicitly renounce their manufacture and use, and undertake to destroy all existing stocks provided other holders of stocks do the same.

There is nothing revolutionary in such a guarantee. It is essentially the same as that embodied in the Gas and Bacteriological Warfare Agreement in 1925, reaffirmed at the Disarmament Conference of 1932. In fact, so far as we know, gas and bacteria were not used by the belligerents of 1941-45 (although the Japanese were preparing their use). In order to make the undertaking effective, the fullest system of international inspection that human ingenuity can devise of all atomic processes—from mining to actual fission—should be established. This should work under an international inspecting committee, with its staff of travelling scientific inspectors. The vast quantities of material required, and the large plants involved, make the working of such a system perfectly feasible.

Indeed, both Anglo-American and Soviet Governments have agreed that inspection and control is practicable and they only differ on minor points as to how it should be carried out. This is the only acceptable method. It is illusory to imagine that any independent Power could accept the Baruch (U.S.A.) scheme, which would hand over *ownership and management* of all atomic plant to a committee on which the U.S.A. and its friends would have a permanent majority, and the U.S.A. would *in addition* be able to retain its stocks of bombs, and make more, for an indefinite period!

Above all, it is essential that all the people should be made aware of the various proposals for the prevention of atomic warfare and that they should no longer be deceived into believing that they are being held up purely by Soviet obstinacy.

The initiative of the World Peace Committee, urging the parliaments of all countries to accept the principle of prohibiting atomic bombs, is one that needs to be taken up here. We should see to it that it is at least discussed seriously in the House of Commons. Sooner or later the will of the people to have done with all these and other horrors of war, will prevail. The important and urgent thing is to see that this is done before it is too late.

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From **FRED LONGDEN**, M.P.

(Member of Parliament for Birmingham, Smallheath)

The question asks about the banning of the atomic bomb and its kind, not whether I believe in the using of such lethal tools. Otherwise, I should say that the bayonet, flame-thrower, and shrapnel can be more horrible and less merciful, for many people, than might the given bombs. We would eliminate these bombs, in particular, I suppose, because they can be so universally destructive as to leave us without sufficient civilisation by which to carry on.

But the trouble is that two or three powerful nations now monopolise the means of producing atomic power. If this force were to remain in the hands of but one of the dominant *sides,* war would be the more likely. As it is, both sides cannot help but fear the consequences of using it.

(1) U.N.O. should strive for a common agreement on the wholesale destruction of atomic bombs and such stock-piles, through neutral observers.

(2) Periodic inspections should follow, to make as certain as possible that death-tools were not being produced under the guise of industrial needs.

(3) In that America will dominate the situation for a longish time yet—with a capacity to produce many bombs quickly—all present stock-piles should be destroyed.

(4) It should not be expected of Russia (though it might be a noble gesture if done!) in these circumstances, to allow inspection *before* all-in destruction, since it is the universal law that a country must have a right to prepare for emergencies without possible enemies knowing every detail.

The best in the world would support an assurance on this question.

From **DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE**

I believe that we English should take a brave and independent step—say definitely that we consider the use of atomic bombs (in all its forms) wicked and un-Christian—and take the risk of consequences. International talk is good, but good action is better, and a risk like this would show that we sincerely meant to go the Christian way.

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From **JOSEPH NEEDHAM,** F.R.S.
and **DOROTHY NEEDHAM,** F.R.S.

Apart from orthodox pacifists, people have long become resigned to admitting that there are things worse than war—loss of liberty, for example. In the present ' cold war ' both sides have seemed up to now to share this assumption. But it is undermined by the mass-production of atomic bombs and by the latest decision to proceed with the elaboration of the hydrogen bomb, an explosive reaction which apparently cannot be employed for any useful purpose. War with intra-atomic energy weapons now takes on the status of the worst of public evils.

Hence the value of the letters recently published in *The Times* urging an immediate meeting of the leaders of the great powers to try once more to reach some agreement on the international control of atomic energy. If the discussions were conducted at sufficiently high level, and by men who can really visualise the mass destruction of humanity which is now becoming possible, and for which they would have to give the word, success might be achieved. The United Nations provides a ready organisational framework.

What has perhaps not so far been fully realised is that *both* sides will have to be prepared to give up some parts of their cherished political ideals. The aim of making the world safe for either ' full gospel ' of Russian communism or Anglo-American democracy, has now become a will-of-the-wisp dancing on the edge of the abyss before the leaders of the nations.

No doubt statesmen in history have always bluffed until the last moment in the hope of carrying all their objectives. But science has now put the stakes too high. The continuance of organised civilisation as we know it is the issue, and the time is very short.

From **DR. E. H. S. BURHOP**

(Association of Scientific Workers; Secretary of the Atomic Sciences Committee)

The threat of the use of atomic weapons plays a key rôle in the implementation of American foreign policy. It is aimed at discouraging the great social transformations that are taking place in Eastern Europe and the Far East. Although the threat has lost a good deal of its effectiveness since the announcement that the U.S.S.R. has had atomic weapons at its disposal since 1947, it still remains a major instrument of the cold war. The most important step in the struggle

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against weapons of mass destruction would involve bringing the cold war to an end and returning to the principles of foreign policy advocated by President Roosevelt, who believed in the peaceful co-existence of different social systems.

This does not mean, however, that no attempt should be made to reach a *modus vivendi* in connection with atomic weapons before tackling all other outstanding points at issue. Even a limited agreement on atomic energy control would help to improve East-West relations and thus prepare the ground for agreement over a wider field. For instance, an understanding that we (and our Allies) would not use atomic weapons unless they were first used against us would be a possible first step.

But a much greater area of agreement would be in sight if we agreed to negotiate a control agreement on the basis of the proposals made by the Soviet delegation to the United Nations. Contrary to general belief, these proposals do provide for the abolition of atomic weapons and the institution of a very substantial degree of control to ensure that the terms of any agreement are in fact being observed.

There is widespread public uneasiness about the attitude of the Government toward atomic energy control. This uneasiness must be brought home to the Government in such a way that they can no longer ignore the popular demand for a new approach to the U.S.S.R. on the question.

From **DR. G. O. JONES**
(Queen Mary College, University of London)

The question as put does not say by whom the steps are to be taken. Obviously if the heads of both the American and Russian Governments took steps to destroy their atomic weapons, or to come to agreement on the major political issues between them, atomic weapons would not be used. This is more than a truism; it is unfortunately no use pretending that we in Britain can at present have much influence in the matter.

I think the most desirable immediate aim for us is economic and political independence for Britain. In many ways we stand between the two extremes in the present conflict, and given economic independence could make this more than a matter of geographical and political accident and could serve as an example to the main contenders that they were both wrong. I would suggest also that it is time for a serious ' operational ' study of the problem of peace and war. Even if it is too late, we can at least go down with our eyes open.

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From **RUTLAND BOUGHTON**

I don't believe there is any answer to your question at the so-called ' top-level ' of government personalities. The answer will come from the bottom level, when workers engaged at the atomic plants refuse to serve destructive purposes. There are already signs of that attitude among the scientists, and it is bound to be communicated by degrees to all intelligent technical workers. Then governments will have to choose between fools who won't be able to do the job properly, and sane men who will refuse to work for any but creative purposes.

From **DOUGLAS GOLDRING**

(1) The British Government should begin its efforts to secure the outlawing of the atomic bomb by issuing a statement to the effect that in no circumstances will it either manufacture or make use of any of the weapons of mass destruction which have been condemned by the conscience of mankind.

(2) Through its representatives at U.N. it should withdraw its adherence to the ' Baruch plan ' on the ground that it is now obsolete.

(3) At the same time it should announce its support of the Soviet Russian proposal to hold a Five Power Conference, charged with the task of drawing up a convention covering the following points:

  (a) The outlawing of the atomic bomb and the destruction of existing stocks.

  (b) The cessation of the manufacture of such weapons.

  (c) The maintenance of nationally-owned plants for the production of fissionable material sufficient for the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and

  (d) The establishment of an adequate system of inspection and control.

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CHINA CHOOSES

MADAME SUN YAT-SEN

Soong Ching Ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen) for over twenty years has been steadfastly faithful to the revolutionary teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Kuomintang, and has conducted a resolute struggle against the Chiang Kai-shek gang. She is now a Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. We are pleased to reprint from the new Peking fortnightly, 'People's China', this study by her of the difference in foreign policies between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.—Ed., L.M.

CHAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung, in his now historic speech on July 1, 1949, pronounced that the new China, the Chinese People's Republic, would lean toward one side in all matters, foreign and domestic, the side led by the great Soviet Union under the leadership of the mighty Stalin. That is the side of peace and construction. That is the path joyously followed and ardently studied by the overwhelming masses of the Chinese people. Events in the world have proven, and are everyday verifying, that this is the only side toward which progressive countries can lean. For there are merely two choices at hand. One is the Soviet Union. The other is represented mainly by the United States, Great Britain and France. As we have contact with these two sides, through their foreign policies, we quickly see that they are as different as day is from night. One has all the brightness of day and all the warmth of the sun. That is the socialist Soviet Union. The other is as forbidding as a wintry night with all its coldness. This is the imperialist band led by the United States. By comparing these two choices, it is easy to see why in actuality, survival and revival of oppressed nations necessitates leaning to the side of the Soviet Union.

What do the imperialists offer?

First, they offer Marshall Plan 'aid'. Their method is to 'educate' you on how good it will be for you. This is done in typical, high-pressure, American advertising style. The sales talk is directed to all those who are floundering in the high seas of unplanned economies and who fear changes which use the strength of the people. The American Wall Streeters hold up their concoction as the newest thing in life-savers. 'It is streamlined', they say. 'It

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will pull you through any situation'. Some governments have fallen for this line and have had the 'life-saver' tossed at them. From their experience, it is now history that this highly-publicised contraption turns out to be but a strait-jacket. It is filled with lead and bound to sink anyone who attempts to use it.

Recent news dispatches tell us that Marshall Plan 'aid' is being rushed to Indonesia under terms of an old agreement between the United States and Holland to help the latter's colonies. It is obvious that the American government feels it can fully rely on those, both Dutch and Indonesian, to whom they dictated the Hague documents creating the new puppet state. Therefore, they rush supplies to these suffering islands. However, we can safely say that history is about to repeat itself. We can determine now what will be the results of this 'aid'. For the few Indonesians in high position who have sold out their country to imperialism, it will mean that their power will be propped up for a little longer. This 'aid' will enable them to suppress and keep at bay, for the moment, the rising tide of the people's might. For the common men and women of Indonesia, it will mean something entirely different. It will mean prolonged civil war, with all its destruction and bitterness. Witness Marshall Plan 'aid' to China and Greece in the past years.

It will mean further and intensified exploitation of the country's raw materials, to the detriment of the people's present welfare and their future constructive efforts. Witness Western Germany today as it serves Wall Street in full colonial capacity. Coal, timber, scrap metal and other raw and semi-finished materials are pouring out of the country into British and American factories. In return, this highly industrialised part of Germany is being made into an importer of finished products. The result is that their manufacturing industry is rapidly deteriorating and they have accumulated a debt of over three billion dollars to the United States. Marshall Plan 'aid' will further mean then, long lines of unemployed workers and shrinking standards of living for their families as factory after factory suffers the smothering of home markets by American goods. Witness Italy, where 2,500,000 workers sit idle, while the Italian Government statistical institute informs us that nearly half of the families are living on a standard below the necessary minimum. Witness France, where purchasing power of the people has dropped more than 20 per cent. in the past year and devaluation of the franc further cut into their livelihood. Witness Britain, where people

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suffer because the critically affected foreign trade is diverted to the West, which does not want it, instead of being allowed to exchange goods and services with the vast expanse from Czechoslovakia to China. Finally, this gracious 'aid' will mean for Indonesia continued harassment by nature. Witness China's case once again, where the important bulk of the funds and energies were used to fight the people instead of preventing natural disasters. That is why until this time, floods have ruined millions of acres of land and millions of tons of food and the number of famine-sufferers runs into the tens of millions.

The record is clear. Marshall Plans will help neither Indonesia nor any other country. They are not instituted for that purpose. There is another intent.

It has become clear once again that America's capitalistic system is a Humpty-Dumpty which has fallen off the wall of history. It is cracked, and severely so. Therefore, the monopolists on Wall Street try to put it together again. They use the very expensive Marshall Plan, while the American people, and all the peoples upon whom it is imposed, are made to pay for it. But even this astronomical expenditure is not enough to mend the broken egg. The situation gets urgent, degenerates to the frantic stage. Measures of fear are then applied. The measures are the preparations for war, as expressed in terms of the Atlantic Pact, the promised South-East Asia Alliance and similar malicious attempts. These are strait-jackets of another sort for those who participate. It is in addition to the Marshall Plan and entails further obligations, this time the entirely non-productive, non-creative spending of money on arms and munitions, according to American standards, from American factories, at American prices, paid for in American dollars. Not one of the contracting parties, including the United States, can afford such waste. But economic and political pressure of every variety is exerted by the American Government and its Wall Street jockeys until their objectives are reached: super-profits at home, control of the markets abroad. The national sovereignty of others means nothing to them. They tread upon the people's livelihoods with arrogance.

It is a truism: those who keep freedom from others, they themselves are not free. It follows: those who cause impoverishment, they themselves will soon be reduced to that state. It is precisely to this position that the American people are being steadily pushed. Unemployment in the United States is reaching into figures like

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CARTOONS FROM ABROAD

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From ' Ludas Matyi ', of Budapest.

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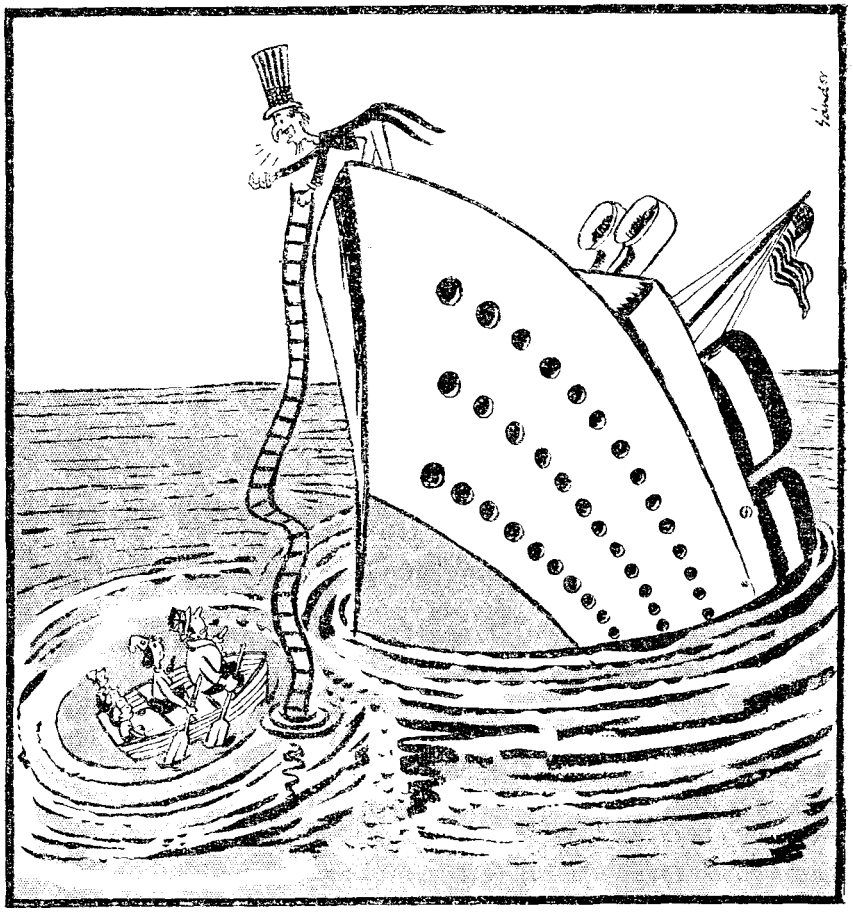

From ' Ludas Matyi ', of Budapest.

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six million, with ten million workers only partially employed. This occurs when the cost of living rises to 180 (with year 1939 as 100) and real wages actually drop below the 1939 level. According to the Chief of Reports and Analysis of the United States Bureau of Employment Security, there is no relief in sight for this situation. In fact, according to this official organisation's calculation, there are 600,000 more people looking for jobs every year. The casual remark at the end of this report was, that if this condition continues, it will mean something is wrong with the economy. We can say now that something is wrong, for the people of the United States. But for the few financial groupings operating out of the darkness of Wall Street, things are quite right. Their profits are bursting out all over. In 1947 they hit the record of 17 billion dollars. Through further exploitation of the world, in 1948 they gathered unto themselves the gigantic sum of 21 billions. It is plain for all to see. Into these greedy hands falls the Marshall Plan money. The funds required for the execution of the Atlantic Pact also find their way here. And woe to anything or anyone who tries to stop this game of gamble and garner!

The bigger the profits get, the more the people in the United States are suppressed. Civil rights are broken down and discarded. The police activity shows they are mere tools of the vested interests. They protect only the hand that feeds them sops, rather than the people, as was demonstrated in the Peekskill incident. Educational standards are constantly attacked through the intimidation and firing of teachers and professors who object to the fascisation that is taking place. Science is closeted and put under lock and key; the latter is in the hands of the financial wizards who control everything else. They do not even allow their imperialist partners to take a peep as we have seen from the recent breakdown of atomic energy conferences held in Canada between the United States and Great Britain. This brought out into the open but one of the contradictions which exists between imperialist countries. The American Government attempted to put all research and development of the important source of atomic energy into their own hands and exclude Britain and Canada from this field. They failed in this case, just as they met with a rebuff in the bargaining concerning the delivery of arms for the Atlantic Pact requirements. Historical analysis proves that such contradictions will ever be present and will become increasingly important. However, the American Gov-

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ernment will treat its satellites as it treats its own people in due time. For how long can Britain, for example, keep up her resistance when she is so dependent upon United States funds to keep herself from the brink of bankruptcy? The answer is if Britain continues her present anti-Soviet policies she cannot last very much longer, and sooner or later the United States will have its way completely.

That is the picture the imperialist group presents.

Now, let us examine the policies and practices of the Soviet Union as they appear on the world scene.

To date, this socialist land has made trade arrangements with the following People's Democracies: Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, Poland, Mongolia and China. All of these agreements were made with one, and only one, purpose in mind—to sincerely aid in the development of these countries. There was no pretence, no bait, no ' education '. There was only one question asked: ' What do you need? ' Here are a few practical examples of how this worked out.

China, in its liberation, was faced with tremendous problems concerning rail transportation. The reactionary Kuomintang armies had destroyed bridges by the hundreds. The equally reactionary administrations had allowed equipment to be wasted and ill-used, and the roadbeds were in urgent need of maintenance. This had to be remedied immediately, since so much depended on moving supplies from the countryside to the newly captured cities, and in moving the People's Liberation Army to the positions for the final strike against the American-supported Chiang Kai-shek. Among the very first arrivals in China from the Soviet Union were railway technicians. They worked at the complicated questions and rendered support that put the restoration of our rail system months ahead of schedule. They came without benefit of fanfare. They did their job and not one single thing was asked in return. Likewise, this past summer, the North-Eastern provinces of China suffered an epidemic of the plague. We did not have enough doctors and technicians to stem this dangerous disease, so we called on our great neighbour. The medical teams we required were soon on the scene. They came, they gave their help, and when they were finished, they went home. There were not even thoughts of repayment or concessions to be sought. They did not ask the right to do anything except to serve the Chinese people. Bulgaria offers another example. This country chronically suffers from drought. Inspired by the

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Stalin plan for remaking nature through forestation and forming bodies of water, Bulgarian organs made a plan of their own. To implement this plan the Soviet Union has given technical assistance, machinery, equipment for power stations, transmission lines to carry the power, made locks for irrigations dams and provided other essential materials, just to assure success in this vital project. This spirit of co-operation is now the working principle among all the People's Democracies. Before, as an example, the countries of Czechoslovakia and Poland were always bitter enemies, as a result of imperialist intrigues. However, since 1947 they have been working together under a five-year agreement on mutual economic policies and a series of detailed protocols. The result is that they have increased the exchange of goods and assistance five times over the figures for 1938. Further, Poland has set aside part of its own territory on the Baltic sea for the construction of ports, so Czechoslovakia can have an outlet to the sea for commercial purposes. Co-operation is also evidenced in the joint development and use of natural resources in their border areas and the joint construction of power facilities.

There is no cut-throat competition here; no strangulation of the smaller or weaker by the stronger. This mode of operation has grown out of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which functions through pacts of friendship, sincerely implemented mutual assistance pacts, and pacts of non-aggression. Is it not clear then that we lean to one side because only the Soviet Union advocates and practises such a fair and honest policy? Only the socialist system allows for such an outlook and at the same time maintains constant upward development of the home economy.

Yes, we also lean toward one side as a result of appraisal of the Soviet Union's domestic scene. We envy the fact that there is no unemployment, and rush to learn how it is done. We rejoice that in such a short time they have liquidated illiteracy in their expansive country, and once again we ask to be shown how it was done. We like to see, for instance, that the post-war five-year plan calls for increasing living space by the tremendous amount of 84 million square metres, this including tens of thousands of individually-built homes. We are joyful when the news comes that this goal is almost reached. We think it is significant that in the last thirty years over 27,000 rural power stations have been erected in the Soviet Union. In undeveloped China we are markedly impressed when we

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learn that in former backward Turkmenistan, heavy industry has increased 111 times between 1913 and 1941; in the Uzbek Republic industrial output jumped 75 times in 27 years; in the Kirghiz Republic it has risen 153 fold in that same period. There is no question that without the fullest application of science, these accomplishments could never be realised. We quickly learn that the whole conception of science is different from that which is practised in capitalistic countries. In the Soviet Union it is freed for practical use and expedited to the maximum degree. Instead of allowing nature to run her own, uncharted course, Soviet scientists harness her to work for mankind. The progressive and constructive use of atomic energy is the most vivid illustration of this method. Atomic energy is being used to move mountains, to change the course of rivers, to make arid deserts fertile. It is not kept beneath a cellophane cloak and made a pawn in some nefarious international game. It is used for the benefit of the people. Education and culture are treated with the same respect. This accounts for the fact that the Soviet Union today has over 220,000 schools with 34 million pupils and 837 higher educational institutions with over one million students. In ten pre-war years alone these institutions turned out over one million engineers, agronomists, teachers, doctors and other experts.

Thus, our comparison is complete. The imperialist band led by the United States financial groups is a hindering clod in the way of man's progress, both at home and abroad. The Soviet Union, however, lends a helping hand to struggling young nations both within her borders and without, until they can navigate their own way. Therefore, the conclusion remains. The Chinese People's Republic leans to one side. We appreciate the principle of 'working with' friends. We especially admire friends who have such a constructive way of living and know tolerance in their treatment of other people. We think that all such friends should correlate their efforts to construct a new society, to protect world peace so that that society can prosper. Consequently China will continue to follow the policy of leaning to one side, to 'work with' all those who earnestly strive for honest co-operation. And in this period of history, China is pointing the way for the whole Far East.

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A LABOUR INDEPENDENT LOOKS AT THE ELECTION

D. N. PRITT, K.C.

SOCIALISTS in Great Britain, whether members of the Communist Party, Labour Independents, or even members of the Labour Party, lost a battle in February. But the campaign for Socialism goes on; it is one in which battles may be lost but victory cannot in the long run elude us.

In 1945 the electorate had voted for Socialism; it wanted the responsibilities, the anxieties, the glories, of the fight for Socialism, and sent the Labour leaders and M.P.s to Parliament to fight for them. The leaders promised to lead; they promised a policy of peace, of friendship with our ally the Soviet Union, of consciously created bonds of comradeship with workers everywhere, of rising standards of living, of ample housing.

But the leaders broke their promises and deserted. They had excuses, explanations, alibis, denials, all plausible enough, but they deserted—in some fields, such as foreign relations, at the very start, in others more slowly. By the end of 1949, it was clear that their 'march to Socialism' had changed to a close economic tie-up with the convulsive capitalism of the United States, rendering any advance on the Socialist road both economically and politically impossible; their 'peace policy' consisted in being a junior partner—providing bombing bases and cannon-fodder—in the mightiest conspiracy for war that the world has ever seen, run by the terrified financiers and militarists of the Pentagon plus the State Department plus Wall Street: their 'friendship with the Soviet Union' took the form of propagating lies and abuse of the U.S.S.R. and of every other Socialist country in the world; their 'comradeship with the workers of the world' embraced everyone except the two-fifths of the world which saw nothing wrong in Communism; and they sacrificed our hopes of rising standards of living and of housing to a colossal scheme of armament expenditure dictated by the U.S.A., with its logical consequence of the wage-freeze, the cuts in housing, a rising cost of living, and acquiescence in ever-increasing profit making.

The essence of all this was, inevitably, that when in due course Britain is hit by the capitalist slump, developing in the U.S.A. but artificially slowed up by the expedient of spending £17,000,000

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every day on armaments, we shall be completely powerless to apply any Socialist remedies to that slump; and anyone who even pretends to be a Socialist knows that no non-Socialist measures can provide more than dangerous and ineffective palliatives for slump.

That was the policy against which the Left Wing—including the Labour Independents—fought throughout the 1945-50 Parliament. It earned expulsion for those who had not already been expelled, and dared to express their opposition. The Left were absolutely correct in their analysis, their opposition, and their proposals.

And, in those circumstances, what sort of a General Election did we get? The two main parties were agreed on the whole foreign policy, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, the readiness for an anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, armaments race—atom and hydrogen bombs and all—in short, a pure war policy. They were agreed, too, on the wage-freeze, on the Imperialist grip on the colonies, on the policy of trade boycotts of the Socialist world—in short, on every vital issue. They thus went to the electorate with all these vital issues masked by their agreement, and with the support of a high measure of success in the press and radio propaganda which had worked steadily for years to present their war-policy as one of defence of peace; and the stern reality of crisis, slump, and unemployment which must soon horrify and disillusion the younger generation of workers, to whom mass unemployment is as yet unknown, was kept off-stage, muttering in the wings, by the adroit manœuvre of holding the General Election before the slump developed.

The Liberal Party, with plenty of money, plenty of candidates, and all sorts of old-fashioned ideas, could contribute nothing real, since in substance it accepted the framework established by the two main parties.

The Communists, the Labour Independents, and a few of the official Labour candidates (if they had dared to speak up) had the right policy, and the great mass of the workers would have agreed with that policy if it had been presented to them on the scale on which the Labour and Tory policies were presented. They wanted peace; they knew a war policy when they saw it; they wanted increased real wages, a better standard of living, more and cheaper houses, limitation of profits, and a resumption of the march to Socialism.

What did the electorate do? The non-working-class electorate, completely bamboozled, was mildly interested in the contest between Tweedledum, who would hold them in the American war camp and

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the American economic whirlpool, and Tweedledee, who would hold them in the same place. The majority of the working class did better than that, and of course better than its Tweedleaders. It didn't want the Tories; it opposed in the main the Tory policy as put forward by the Labour leaders; and it was thus confronted by a choice of evils. The two (or three) Party system was felt to bar the way to voting for the policy which represented true working class interests; indeed, in most constituencies it had only the choice of Tory, Liberal, or Labour, the last-named either right-wing by conviction or compelled to support the right-wing policy of the leaders.

What could the workers do? What did they do? They were, of course, better than their leaders—*plus je vois les chefs, plus j'aime la foule*; both the consciously political and the more or less unconscious saw the class-struggle which their leaders blandly deny, thought to use their vote against the Tory class enemy and so polarised themselves on the one mass party whose true job it is to fight the Tories, the party which would at least keep the Tories out of office if it won enough seats.

In voting for the mass party, they of necessity defeated every candidate who expressed the policies which the working class needs, and they thus deprived Parliament of the vanguard of Socialist advance. But it remains true that there lies in their actions and their attitude great ground for hope. If they were able to see far enough through the ' phony war ' of February, 1950, to give their votes on what they believed to represent the basis of the class struggle, they will not merely be ready for the real struggle when it comes, but will be working to bring that struggle to a head.

Already, in the increasing pressure from America, in the growing signs of the coming slump, in the healthily developing fight against the wage-freeze and the growth of the movement for peace under the leadership of the British Peace Committee, with its strong international links, we can see the beginnings of a very different political situation, in which the log-jam of Labour-Tory coalition will break up and the stream of progress will flow freely again. And in its powerful current all the policies preached in February, 1950, and the years before by the Socialist Left Wing will move forward, and once again be proved right.

Above all, the deep desire of the British people for peace, distorted by the betrayal of the leaders and the defects of the electoral system into an apparent 99.7% vote for what is in fact a war policy, will reassert itself in all its strength and passion, and will prevail.

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THE ELECTION: A FACTUAL SURVEY

H. FAGAN

An examination of the voting at the General Election brings out some conclusions of importance, particularly in the degree of confrontation of classes that emerges. But a detailed comparison with the 1945 elections, constituency by constituency, is impossible, since in England and Wales alone over seven-eighths of the constituencies were changed by the Representation of the People Act, 1948.

The total figures, however, of the election in 1950 can be compared with 1945 as follows:

	1950		*1945*
Electorate	34,410,306	...	32,836,419
Total Poll	28,724,754	...	24,973,298
Percentage of Electorate	84%		73%
Labour: vote	13,331,682	...	12,149,605
seats	315	...	393
Tory: vote	12,476,636	...	9,960,809
seats	298	...	213
			(Includes Ulster Unionists and Nat. Lib.)
Communist: vote	91,812	...	102,780
seats	Nil	...	2
Liberal: vote	2,618,882	...	2,239,668
seats	9	...	12

Usually in General Elections only three-quarters of those entitled to vote have gone to the poll,* but on this occasion a record poll of 84 per cent. showed an increased political consciousness, a class confrontation. What is the electoral picture of Britain resulting? A map shows that outside London and half a dozen big cities, the whole South of England returned Tories. The Midland and Northern counties of England also returned Tories. So did the Scottish counties.

The exception of the non-industrial counties of Wales is more

*The exceptions being in 1924 and 1931, where special efforts made to scare the habitual non-voters brought four-fifths of the electors to the polls against Labour: and also in 1929.

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apparent than real. For here, where Liberals mainly were returned, there lingers on the tradition of the 19th century struggle against the Tory-landlord-church combination, just as in the dozen seats of Northern Ireland there lingers on something of the atmosphere of 18th and even 17th century struggles. Indeed, if we discount these two survivals of the past, in the Ulster Unionists and Welsh Liberalism, we get a clearer picture of what happened in the remaining six hundred odd seats. Thus, leaving out Northern Ireland and the main Welsh agricultural counties, the first picture for Great Britain is of industrial towns as solidly Labour; and countryside, with cathedral cities, watering places, smaller towns and residential suburbs of the big cities, as solidly Conservative. This may seem to suggest that Britain has returned to the earlier two-party pattern, with Labour substituted for Liberal and with corresponding type of electoral cleavage. But to suggest this would be to go hopelessly astray; and that not simply because the epochs are entirely different but also for concrete reasons. In the first place the old Liberal majorities were made up largely of petty bourgeoisie; this time the petty bourgeoisie swung over to the Tories. The completeness of this swing over of the petty bourgeoisie is shown in the constituencies where there are large concentrations of lower middle class. Thus in borough constituencies round London like Finchley, Harrow, Richmond and Twickenham, whilst the Labour vote increased by 5.4 per cent. over 1945 (or only in proportion to the total increase in the electorate), the Tory vote on the other hand increased by 42 per cent. In 1945 Labour won seven seats out of 15 in such constituencies. In 1950 it won one seat out of 17. It is estimated that in Middlesex alone there was an $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. swing against Labour and an 8 per cent. swing in outer Essex.

At the other end of the island the swing of the petty bourgeoisie of the Northern Scottish counties brought down the Labour vote from 230,044 in 1945 to 219,791 in 1950, while the Tory vote went up from 218,828 to 282,650. In percentages, a Labour drop from 42.7 per cent. in 1945 to 36.8 per cent. in 1950, and a Tory rise from 40.5 per cent. to 47.4 per cent.

In the second place in most of the Southern English Rural constituencies, formerly the 'feudal' strongholds, the Labour vote increased significantly. Thus in the Eastern counties, the Labour vote increased from 285,481 in 1935 to 420,592 in 1945, and to 444,386 in 1950. The Tory vote over the same period dropped from

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497,627 in 1935, to 401,572 in 1945, and was only able to pull up to 474,338 in 1950.'

Similarly in Mid-Southern England, to take the classification in *The Economist* (4/3/50), whereas the Labour vote increased from 233,078 in 1935 to 409,314 in 1945 and rose still further to 421,874 in 1950, the Tory vote increased only from 526,451 in 1935 to 569,281 in 1950.

Thus the old picture of Tory countryside versus town petty-bourgeoisie and proletariat disssolves on examination. What is revealed is the confrontation of proletariat and capitalist with the swing over of the petty bourgeoisie to the latter.

But there is a second and more disquieting picture. In the industrial areas where the majority of the workers stood solidly by the Labour Party, the Tories did make some advances. Thus in Clydeside the Tory votes increased from 297,168 in 1945 to 392,166 in 1950. In Tyneside the Tory vote increased from 156,564 in 1945 to 213,523 in 1950. In the Merseyside whilst the Labour votes went up from 312,526 to 391,798 the Tory vote rose from 288,721 to 411,366. These are all centres of heavy industry and shipbuilding. The shipbuilding industry's plight is causing grave concern to the workers in these areas, who are already feeling the effects of the Marshall Plan.

In Manchester and District the total Labour vote actually stood still at 475,525 despite the increased electorate and increased polling; while the Tory vote rose from 392,131 in 1945 to 466,749.

The third picture that comes out of the figures is the extreme polarisation of the electorate, the picture of ' two nations ', as shown not only by the total figures given earlier, but by the detailed figures of constituency majorities and minorities. For 625 seats 1,863 candidates put up, including 475 Liberals and 100 Communists. Yet in well over two-thirds of the seats Tory or Labour won by an over-all majority. This polarisation is also shown by the overwhelming majorities achieved in particular constituencies. The Hemsworth (Yorkshire coalfield) result where the Labour candidate got 47,934 and his Conservative-and-National-Liberal opponent got 10,254 was flanked by a score of similar ' crowning mercies '. But on the other side, if not quite so spectacularly, there were also a whole series of majorities exceeding 10,000. In this extreme polarisation with the determination of so many workers that, whatever their private opinions, ' the Tories must be kept out ', all independent

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candidates were swept away. This applied also to the 100 Communist candidates: and to practically all of the 475 Liberal candidates outside Wales.

The election has revealed that although there is a critical attitude towards the Labour Government developing among the working class, nevertheless they still regard the Labour Party as their traditional Party, and do not yet see the Communist Party, good though its policy is, as the alternative to Labour. But the discussion of this matter is a subject separate from this factual survey.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

SOCIALISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

SOCIALISM save as the politics of the working class fighting the bourgeoisie has no meaning in practical politics. 'Socialism' as an abstract ethical idea divorced from the class struggle is as meaningless and deceptive as 'Liberty', 'Humanity', and all the other Liberal trick words which conceal class realities and so hold men enslaved. In fact it is in practice even more conservative and reactionary in effect: for by its appeal to the 'social', 'communal' conception as against class struggle in relation to the present régime of class domination, it sanctifies the present slave régime, holds men to their servitude in the name of social duty, and even is ready to oppose the working class struggle and to use violence to uphold the existing slave régime against the workers.

'Notes of the Month', April, 1925.

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UNCLE SAM'S NEW RECRUITS

JAMES KLUGMANN

> The problem of Bolshevism is the problem of the continuance of Europe. . . Bolshevism must be exterminated if Europe is to regain its normal state of health.

WHOSE words? Is this a policy pronouncement of Truman or Hoffman, Churchill or Bevin? It might well be. But it was, in fact, Goebbels, speaking at the Nazi Party Congress at Nuremberg in September, 1936.

Five years after World War II, Anglo-American reaction fosters the revival of those very forces of terror and destruction that millions of British men and women thought that they were fighting to destroy for all time.

But as a first step in restoring to power the old forces of fascism and reaction they have to undertake a tremendous campaign of whitewashing the Nazis and German militarist leaders. They have to try and dim the memories of the millions who saw the horrors of fascism during World War II, who suffered German occupation, or who witnessed Nazi destruction and ruthlessness, or who in one way or another came to understand its barbarity. Now they have to try to re-establish the myth of the clean-living, fair-play-loving German military men who in order to preserve Western civilisation took up arms against the 'barbarous East'. This is the object, for instance, of the recent flood of articles in the Tory press and the capitalist press of America in praise of General Rommel. This was the line peddled by Labour M.P. Paget at the Mannstein trial when he declared:

> The German Army fought decently in France, Italy and Africa and in Russia they showed great restraint in circumstances of great ferocity. Perhaps we shall be glad of it in the future defence of Western Europe. (*News Review*, 22.12.49.)

We shall be glad of the German Army (and of German fascism) in the war under preparation against the U.S.S.R. and People's Democracies—*that is the essential political line of U.S. reaction.* Western Europe is to be transformed into a united American base, into a single American market, into a jumping-off ground for aggressive war, into a supply-point of arms and cannon-fodder, under *reliable* political leadership, and on whom can the U.S. trusts rely better than on the old German Nazis and monopolists?

So all that is brutal and reactionary in Western Germany, all that

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the British people and the men in the ranks of the British army *imagined* they were fighting to defeat and to uproot for all time, is brought back to control and leadership with the aid of the Western occupation authorities. A few days before his execution as a war-criminal, Alfred Rosenberg, leading Nazi ideologist, wrote in his last testament of:

> this Germany which alone can provide the Anglo-Americans with a fanatical allied army.

Now the last testament of this Nazi has become a blue-print for the occupation authorities.

Professor Edward C. Acheson, brother of the U.S. Secretary of State, who served as President Truman's personal representative on an economic mission to Western Germany, declared just one year ago:

> We cannot expect the world to believe we are spreading democratic concepts when we employ in Germany the same kind of system the Nazis used. . .

It is the same old system that is being restored. In Bavaria, for instance, at the beginning of the year, over 20,000 public officials were ex-Nazis; 75 per cent. of most of the Ministries were ex-Nazis; 60 per cent. of all the judges had been under Hitler. In Hesse, U.S. Zone province, 59.4 per cent. of Ministry of Justice employees and 54.5 per cent. of the teachers are German Nazis.

In the Bonn 'Government', the Minister of Transport, Deputy-Chairman of the Engineering Employers' Association, was a prominent company director under Hitler, while the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Bluecher, was a prominent banker under the fascist régime. The Bonn Government has appointed Dr. Ernst, head of the West Berlin Central Bank, to represent it in West Berlin. This man, under Hitler (1935-39), was Reichskomissar for banking and credits, and then held a leading position in the office for disposal of War Booty.

In mid-October of last year a Provisional Committee was set up in Western Germany of the 'General Union of German Industry' (GESAMTVERBAND DER DEUTSCHEN INDUSTRIE) which grouped 32 employers' associations covering 90 per cent. of all West German industries. How can this be distinguished from the old 'REICHSVERBAND DER DEUTSCHEN INDUSTRIE' that helped Hitler to power? The old trusts are being restored with the old Nazis in leading positions. The old financial leaders have become the new financial leaders. Examples are countless. Hermann Abs, for instance, who in 1942, under Hitler, was Administrator of the Deutsche Bank, which an American military government report

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described as 'the economic base of the Hitlerian Army for the exploitation of the occupied territories', reappears today as the President of the German Bank of Reconstruction.

A *Manchester Guardian* correspondent at the beginning of the year (6.1.50) writes of the return to power of 'influential members of the old trusts':

> . . . Such a man as Herr Zangen—Chairman of the Board of Directors of MANNESMANN, Nazi Party member in 1938, ambitious, dominating, dangerous—is still important enough to be one of the chosen few to meet Sir Ivor Kirkpatrick in Dusseldorf. Herr Sohl, arrested and interviewed by the British, is still Managing-Director of the VEREINIGTE STAHLWERKE. . . The big men who built tanks and submarine parts have mostly found it very easy to be denazified; now, politically 'cleansed', they will be free to return to the positions of trust which they misused.

Thus men like von Papen, Schacht, Thyssen, Hugenberg or General Halder have found it easy to be classified as 'Nazis of little guilt', or just 'sympathisers' and to return to prominent public life.

The re-nazification of Western Germany is proceeding with particular speed in the field of education and culture. Official statistics from the French zone, for example, show that already by 1947, 80 per cent. of the primary school teachers were former Nazis. The old Nazi writers and publicists are coming to the fore again—the authors of such Nazi 'classics' as *Volk Ohne Raum* (Men without Space), *Blut und Boden* (Blood and Soil), *Herrenmenschentum* (The Doctrine of the Superior Race), and *Germanische Soldatentum* (The German Soldier). Hans Jomst, former President of Hitler's 'Academy of Poetry' ('Whenever I hear the world culture I reach for my gun'), is writing again; a former Editor of *Der Sturmer* is head of a large publishing house. In Bavaria, home of Hitlerism, four-fifths of the 106 papers permitted by the Allied authorities bear the same name as they bore under Hitler.

Here are some titles of widely diffused volumes in Western Germany that whitewash the rôle of the Nazis: *My Brother Adolf* (by Hitler's sister Paula); *Hitler's Youth; The True Grace of Goebbels; The Enigma of Ilsa Koch; The Black Magician Heinrich Himmler; The Great Love of Adolf Hitler*. General Halder's *Hitler the Warlord* has become a best seller ('. . . had Hitler closely followed the council of his great military leaders Germany would have won the war'). Hjalmar Schacht points the way forward in a book called *There is a way out*. Paula Hitler recreates the myth of the Fuhrer:

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Hitler's sister is now filled with remorse because she so rarely wrote to him . . . she also adds that Adolf was fond of little children.

But the restoration of the old régime is not confined to matters economic and ideological. *Now all efforts are being made by Western reaction to reorganise and restore the old German Army.*

In flagrant violation of the Potsdam Agreement, German military and paramilitary formations were preserved in Western Germany under cover of 'labour battalions' and restraining 'battalions'. But this soon proved insufficient for Western capitalism. At an early date, the U.S. Military Headquarters set up near Kassel a 'Committee of War Historians' officered by former German Staff Officers whilst it set about reorganising, under General Guderian, the former German military intelligence service.

Various semi-secret organisations of former Hitlerian officers have come into existence which keep in close touch with the Bonn 'Government'. Of such a type is the 'Bruderschaft' which organises under the leadership of General Kurt von Manteuffel a group of senior Wehrmacht officers. As General Bruhns put it last November:

Government circles keep us informed and we make our preparations.

And whilst the semi-secret military societies and 'brotherhoods' are developed the campaign becomes more and more open in the West for the open official reorganisation of the German Army, though, sometimes, to meet the hostility of public opinion, this is disguised as the demand for an armed police force or as the 'integration' of a West German contingent in a West European Army.

Senator Poage made no bones about it:

. . . part of the dollars which we allocate to Germany should be used to form 25 divisions from German nationals.

General Kurt von Manteuffel, German Panzer Group Commander, in an interview with the West German News Agency, D.P.A., on March 2, declared that he had written to Dr. Adenauer offering to raise a West German Army of 30 Divisions.

In Bavaria, for example, five main semi-fascist groups are functioning openly: the *German Action* (which is demanding compensation from the Allies for damage done to Germany during the war), the *German Bloc* (which calls for a new German Army), the *Fatherland Union*, under Karl Feitenhansl with its centre in Munich (which also calls for a new German army 'to combat Bolshevism'), the *People's Front*, and the *German Union* (which makes a special point in the call for the repudiation of the war crimes trials).

In mid-January of this year, under the flag of the Kaiser's Empire,

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delegates of two extreme-right Parties, the German Right Party and the National Democrats of Lower Saxony, met at Kassel to merge into the German Reich Party, which claims the return to Germany of all territory held in 1939 and (shades of the past) the ' establishment of German Socialism '. The slogans of the new party were put forward by one of its Chairmen, Dr. Franz Richter:

> Europe needs Germany more urgently than Germany needs Europe. . . If you want to save Europe, then first save Germany.

This has been said before.

The work of the Anglo-American war axis to restore the old fascist forces as its subsidiary is of course not in any sense confined to Western Germany. In Austria the old Nazis are being restored to office with the help of the Western occupation forces. As the Soviet representative, Colonel Zheltov, pointed out in January, 1950, to the Allied Council for Austria, the Western authorities have refused consistently to carry through the Allied Council's decisions of fight against fascism. In September of last year, the Austrian Minister of Justice arbitrarily issued a directive releasing from punishment a considerable body of war criminals. Some 3,600 former fascists and 7,500 police who served under Hitler are still in the service of the Austrian security organs (many of whom took part in Hitler's punitive detachments in occupied Ukraine, Poland, France and Czechoslovakia).

A full survey of the promotion of German fascism by Anglo-American imperialism would take us into many fields. It would reorientate the study of U.S. and British aid, economic and political, for General Franco, the restoration of Greek monarcho-fascism to power in Greece with the murder of thousands of those who led the struggle against the Axis occupation in the war. It would describe the various committees of fascist and neo-fascist ' refugees ' from the People's Democracies who find their place in Washington and London to prepare war against their own peoples. It would have to show the aid given to reaction in Iran and in Turkey. Space does not, of course, permit this. But it is necessary to touch, at least shortly, on the restoration to power, or rather the maintenance in power, in Japan, of the forces of militaro-fascism under the U.S. dictator, General MacArthur.

As in Western Germany the ' purification ' of former war criminals has been ended and the fascists of yore return to the highest positions in the state and in economic administration. On March 3, 1949, it was reported in the Japanese press that Prime Minister Yoshida had

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called for the revision of the decisions of the 'Commission for Purification'. This was only too eagerly greeted by the U.S. authorities. With the restoration to office of the old fascist forces, there comes, as in Western Germany, the same demand from home and foreign reaction for the restoration of the Japanese Army as an anti-Soviet (and anti-Chinese) force. General Robert Eichelberger, one of MacArthur's leading occupation deputies, boasted last October:

> . . . twenty-four hours after the outbreak of any war, the Soviet would see what strange bedfellows the Americans had. . . We would have 85 million Japanese on our side. . . Japanese soldiers would be a Commander's dream.

And finally, as in Western Germany, in this atmosphere, on this background, the old semi-secret, ultra-nationalist societies quickly rear their heads again:

> Credible estimates state that there are about 1,500 of them. . . . Many of their members, undoubtedly, have connections with the black market, its unsavoury boss system, and the big-city underworld. The '*struggle against Communism*' is their watchword—at *present*. . . They are the Japanese equivalent of Hitler's former Brownshirts. (*New York Times*, from their correspondent in Japan, 10.2.49.)

Thus flat in the face of the lessons of history the U.S. capitalists, supported by Bevin and Churchill, are building up the very forces that attacked their countries in the Second World War.

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Book Reviews

A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY THINKER

Selected Philosophical Essays, N. A. Dobrolyubov. (650 pp. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow; Collet's, London. 10*s.* 6*d.*).

FROM the 'forties of the Nineteenth Century onwards Russia stands in the forefront of revolutionary ideas. Marx and Engels being in a category completely apart, there are hardly any democratic-revolutionary thinkers in Western Europe who had left such an influence, or were so fertile in ideas, as the galaxy of brilliant writers and philosophers of the 'forties and 'fifties Belinski, Herzen, Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov. On their writings whole generations of Russian intelligentsia were educated, and they served as a bridge along which socialist theories found their way to the Russian people.

Life in Russia under Nicholas I was pretty grim. The people had no liberties. An iron censorship existed. Anybody suspected of progressive views was severely punished. The prisons were becoming full of rebellious students. The mass of the peasants were serfs. Hegel's and Feuerbach's writings had begun to influence a section of the intelligentsia. The left-wing quickly absorbed the revolutionary kernel of Hegel's philosophy, Dialectics, the 'algebra of revolution', and fully grasped the meaning of Feuerbach's materialism. Belinski, and particularly his 'disciples' Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov, went much further than Feuerbach, and were groping towards Marxism. Chernyshevsky came, in many respects, near a Marxist outlook. The harsh conditions in Russia at the time, the isolation from the West, the practical impossibility to know Marx's writings, made even the foremost Russian radical thinkers—Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov—advanced Utopian Socialists, but Utopian Socialists all the same.

Yet without Belinski, Herzen, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov it is *impossible* to understand fully the development of Plekhanov and Lenin.

The youngest of that brilliant group was Dobrolyubov, who died at the age of 25 in 1860 from consumption. His literary output for a young man was prodigious. Under Tsarist conditions of Nicholas I, it would have been quite impossible for any writer to come out openly and criticise the ruling class society and the Tsarist régime. The left wing, Belinski, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov, resorted to profound literary and sociological criticism of literature, under whose cover they exposed ruthlessly the corrupt régime of Tsarist Serfdom. In doing this they approached literature and society from a strictly materialist point of view. Literature was more than a mere reflection of society, not isolated in any ivory tower. Dobrolyubov wrote 'An artist is not a photographic plate which reflects only the present moment. If he were, there would be neither life nor meaning in works of art. The artist supplements the fragmentary impression of the moment with his creative sense, generalizes in his soul particular phenomena, creates one harmonious whole out of separate features, finds a living connection and consistency in the apparently unconnected phenomena, and merges and works up in his whole world outlook the varied and contradictory sides of living reality'. This conception of the artist is near to the one described by Plekhanov over fifty years later.

Dobrolyubov was quick to show the humanist progressive tendencies in the new realist literature of Russia: in Pushkin, Goncharov, Ostrovski and Saltykov-Shchedrin and the 'message' they carry for the people. The most important principle in art, for Dobrolyubov, as well as for

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Belinski and Chernyshevsky was *purposefulness in art*. He debunked art for art's sake as serving no purpose whatsoever. He strongly believed that when the development of the people reaches a high degree 'literature will become one of the motive forces of society'. He made clear what he meant by the 'development of the people' and to what society he aspires.

He wrote: 'I am a desperate socialist, ready at this moment to enter a society that is not wealthy, with equal rights and common property for all members . . . my ideal does not yet exist on earth, except, perhaps, the democratic society, a meeting of which has been described by Herzen'.

Dobrolyubov was a Utopian Socialist in that he believed that Russia can pass to socialism by skipping over the capitalist phase. But he passionately fought for the emancipation of the serfs and for an agrarian revolution. He had no good word for the liberals, for they represented exploiters: 'As soon as the question is put in a broader way they began to fear anarchy, barbarism, plunder, and so forth, and anathemise the subversive theories which foster respect for *suffrage universel*'. Words reminiscent of Marx's famous analysis of the bourgeoisie after the *1848 revolution*.

It is such ideas that brought forth the great praise given by Marx and Engels to Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky. Marx in *Capital* acclaimed Chernyshevsky as 'a master mind'. Engels in 1884 referred to Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov in the following glowing terms: 'Although some schools were mostly distinguished for their revolutionary ardour rather than for their scientific researches, and although there was, and is today, some groping in different directions, on the other hand there was also critical thought and devoted search for pure theory worthy of a people from whose ranks Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky sprang'. (Engels to E. Papritz, 26/6/1884).

Lenin when he was writing *What is to be done* in 1901 declared that the Russian revolutionary movement has become the 'Vanguard'. He writes: 'To understand what this means concretely, let the reader call to mind the predecessors of Russian Social democracy like Herzen, Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and the brilliant band of revolutionaries of the 'seventies; let him ponder over the world significance which Russian literature is now acquiring'.

The selection of Dobrolyubov's articles, translated for the first time into English, helps a lot to get a glimpse of the rich laboratory of Russian revolutionary ideas. It is also an excellent introduction to nineteenth century Russian literature. It is to be hoped that Chernyshevsky's articles will soon also become available for English readers. Though Marxism has superseded many of the theories that were elaborated by Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky yet their views on æsthetics are still fresh and of great importance to all students of materialist philosophy.

C. ALLEN.

SODDY ON ATOMIC ENERGY

The Story of Atomic Energy. By Frederick Soddy, F.R.S. (With 92 diagrams and illustrations. 11in. x 8in. 136 pp. London: Nova Atlantis *25s.*)

THE release of atomic energy has brought forth a whole series of semi-popular, technical books during the past four or five years. They all seek to explain to those with some knowledge of elementary science but no specialised knowledge of modern physics, the physical principles involved in the processes used for the production of atomic energy. In my opinion the present work by Professor Soddy is the most successful

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of these attempts. Nobody is better qualified than he to write about the events leading up to our present understanding of atomic nuclei.

He writes in a masterly style and one can pick up from the book something of the excitement of the early days of the present century when in the hands of himself and some of his famous associates, Rutherford, Ramsay, and Marie Curie-Sklodowska, the phenomena of radioactive radiations and radioactive decay were fitted into a consistent and suggestive picture, leading to the establishment of the nuclear model of the atom.

As would be expected the account Soddy gives of the epoch-making advances in nuclear and atomic physics between 1895 and 1932 forms the most valuable part of the book. However, in a number of fascinating earlier chapters he describes briefly the historical development of the atomic theory from its earliest origins in ancient Greece to its fashioning, in the hands of the nineteenth century chemists, into a powerful and indispensable guide to the interpretation of physical and chemical phenomena. In this connection particular emphasis is placed on the work of the almost-forgotten Irish chemist, William Higgins, in laying the foundation of modern atomic theory.

In his description of developments since 1932, Soddy seems less at home. Occasional mis-statements creep in and clearly he has not fully grasped the power of modern quantum mechanical theory in the quantitative interpretation of a tremendous variety of the phenomena of physics and chemistry.

One of the least satisfactory chapters is that dealing with atomic energy and its applications. Not only are some of the statements in it inaccurate, but the ideas he expresses on what should be done in the present situation are confused and impracticable and occasionally his well-known conviction of the importance of monetary reform as a means of correcting the present day social malaise in the Western world is allowed to obtrude.

Soddy seems to think that the hope of future world peace depends on the scientists taking some form of Hippocratic oath in which they pledge themselves never to engage in war work. There is no doubt that the scientific worker plays a key role in present day war preparation and refusal to participate would strike a heavy blow against the instigators of an atomic war. But Soddy does not seem to have understood the well-known dictum of Clausewitz about war being a continuation of politics. The struggle for peace is a political struggle. Scientific workers can play a most important part in that struggle, but most effectively by acting in the closest co-operation with all other sections of the community united in a common aim.

Throughout the book Soddy adopts a consistent materialist approach to his subject and in spite of the absence of constructive suggestions for a solution, is deeply conscious of the terrible contradiction between the peaceful potentialities of modern science and its appalling prostitution for warlike and anti-social ends. In spite of some defects it is an absorbingly interesting book, well produced with many apt illustrations, and it forms a welcome addition to our semi-popular scientific literature.

E. H. S. BURHOP.

BOOKS ON THE U.S.S.R.

The Social and State Structure of the U.S.S.R. By V. Karpinsky. (182 pp. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow; Collet's, London, *9d.*)

Russia goes to School. A guide to Soviet Education. By Beatrice King. (185 pp. Published for the New Educational Book Club, by Heinemann, *10s. 6d.*)

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Moscow Correspondent. By Ralph Parker. (304 pp. Frederick Muller, *10s. 6d.*)

WEEK after week, with never a pause, the heavy artillery of the capitalist press, radio and cinema maintains its barrage of hatred and lies against the Soviet Union. There are those whose political understanding, class consciousness and knowledge of the facts safeguard them from the onslaught, but inevitably there are also the casualties. And there are those who, while not understanding what it is all about, do enjoy a certain amount of protection because they 'don't believe everything they read in the papers' and are anxious to know the truth.

Here are three books which, in different ways and in different fields, can provide a good deal of that information which is becoming increasingly essential to anyone who wants to understand the world we live in and to play a useful part in making it the world we want it to be.

In *The Social and State Structure of the U.S.S.R.*, V. Karpinsky gives a clear outline of the 'how' and 'why' of the working of the Soviet State. He provides straightforward answers to such questions as 'What exactly is the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.?' 'How is justice administered in the Soviet Union?' 'What is an Autonomous Region?' And the price of this little book is within everyone's reach.

Russia Goes to School, is a comprehensive survey of Soviet education from the pre-school years to the university, not forgetting the very extensive provision for adult education. The author, Beatrice King, an acknowledged authority in the field, has taken great pains in assembling her material, and the result is a book not only to be read by teachers and others professionally connected with education, but by anybody interested in education—and that should mean everybody.

In her preface Beatrice King claims only to deal with *how* the Soviet educational system is organised and *what* is taught. She says that she has not dealt fully with the question of 'why'. Nevertheless the reader will find plenty of examples of lucid explanation of the reasons for various decisions which the Soviet Government and educational authorities have taken in the light of their rich experience of educational theory, methods and organisation. Beatrice King's concluding words will wring a sigh of envy from the heart of many a British teacher. 'The encouraging feature is the keenly critical attitude of Soviet educationists themselves as well as the high regard in which education is held by the whole community. They will continue to discuss and to argue about every kind of educational problem and because they are free from financial preoccupation either for themselves as individuals or for education as a whole they are likely to make a valuable contribution to educational theory and practice not only for their own country but for other countries too.'

Moscow Correspondent is primarily an account of how the Soviet Union is tackling its post-war problems, written by a British journalist who has had exceptional opportunities for first-hand observation and has made good use of them. Ralph Parker wrote this book from the point of view of a sympathetic and honest inquirer who was not, however, a Marxist, an approach which helps to explain both the merits and defects of the book.

On the negative side it must be said that no adequate picture of the way in which Soviet democracy functions emerges from these pages. Nothing like enough prominence is given to the contribution made in the factories and on collective farms in originating great new movements which have a profound effect on Soviet life and work, nor is the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union explained in a satisfactory and balanced way. The treatment of

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the controversies in philosophy, literature and music is not entirely a happy one. But, this said, it must be added that *Moscow Correspondent* is a book which should most certainly be studied. It is not one of those all-too-familiar works in which professed sympathy and affection for the Soviet people is made the background for an attack on everything the Soviet people stand for and in which praise is doled out in certain directions merely in the hope that blame in other directions may have greater weight.

Ralph Parker's approach, as his more recent writing has shown, seems to be the kind which leads to increasing understanding and closer sympathy. He presents a wealth of information with honesty, freshness and eminent readability and, whatever its shortcomings, his book is a very useful contribution to our knowledge of the Soviet Union. It is only to be regretted that more British journalists do not succeed in maintaining the same standard of clear-sighted integrity, even though it would certainly lead to quite a number of vacancies on the staffs of most of the national newspapers.

L. ELLIOTT.

A SHEPHERD OF THE PEOPLE

Industrial Peace in our Time. By Hubert Somerville, M.A. (224 pp. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. *15s.*)

THE author wishes to instil into the minds of others a desire and a will for industrial peace (laudable venture) coupled with an alleged remedy (not so praiseworthy) for the present industrial warfare. A lot of it is interesting, much of it is novel in outlook, much of it would tickle a good class-conscious shop steward to death whilst others would not like to be referred to as the more gentlemanly union leaders living a long way from the job. The erudite author claims that the Public is the employer of labour and not the Capitalist, a new profundity which borders on sheer nonsense. He holds that the claim of the Capitalist to the finished product and to the profits thereof is the main cause for the present social disharmony. A simple truth, my dear Watson. Yet in a capitalist society he is legally, morally and ethically entitled to the ownership of the finished product and the profits!!

Why should this claim of the capitalist cause disharmony? It is simply caused by the fact that the workers sell their labour power for a price—wages. Nothing belongs to him or her other than the power to labour, skilled or unskilled At the end of the day or week the product of his labour applied to raw material becomes the property of the capitalist employer. Nothing whatever to do with the public. If the capitalist cannot sell the goods he shuts up and unemployment ensues. Surely in these enlightened days, the remedy is to eliminate the capitalist class entirely. Are we enlightened? Perhaps not when such learned authors suggest that the 'Trade Unions' should be given a new name such as the 'Work Share Unions' in order that they may fit into the proposed new form of capitalist undertaking the 'Federal Share Production Company'!! A rose by any other name would smell as sweet.

Finally the author claims that Industrial Peace can only be created within the right economic relationship. Another simple truism. And with an almost audible intake he sighs, surely this can be achieved in our time? Yes, it has been achieved in more than half the world under socialist leadership where mankind has repudiated the basis of capitalist society and man ceases to exploit man. The mere alteration of names of trade unions or the giving of a new nomenclature to a capitalist firm so as to fit into a glorified profit

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sharing project will not solve the problem of industrial warfare or bring industrial peace however much desired. I found the Appendices more instructive and enjoyable reading.

JAMES DAVIDSON.

SHORTER NOTICES

Tudor England, by S. T. Bindoff. (320 pp. Penguin Books. 1*s.* 6*d.*).

Tudor England is the fifth volume, though the first to appear, of a series intended to form an intelligent and consecutive guide to the development of English society from the Roman invasion to 1914. Unfortunately, where we need most a picture of social change, of capitalism developing out of decaying feudal society, of the growth of the classes that were to destroy the absolute monarchy and replace a feudal by a bourgeois régime, we are presented with the familiar story of political events and policies seen from the angle of kings and queens. As one would expect from an expert in Economic History, there are interesting glimpses of social and economic changes, and an excellent sketch of the peasants' revolts of 1548-9. But no attempt is made to link up systematically economic and political development by showing the interests, character, growth and struggles of the different classes making up society. Bindoff's "history with the politics put in" turns out to be, in fact, history with the class struggle left out. That is why he fails to make real sense of either economic or political history, and why no adequate picture of the development of society is given: and since the changes of this sixteenth century were the bridge between mediæval and modern England, it seems unlikely that the series as a whole will be either consecutive or intelligible.

L.S.B.

Masques et Visages de Tito et des Siens. By Dominique Desanti. (126 pp. Edition du Pavillon, Paris. *130 Fr.*)

THIS booklet covers ground dealt with in no other publication on the subject. The trials in Hungary, Bulgaria and elsewhere, the pronouncements of Tito himself and his leading henchmen, have left no illusions in the mind of any sane, unprejudiced observer respecting the role today of the Yugoslav leaders as 'running dogs' of imperialism and brutal oppressors of the working class. But how did they get that way? What signs were there in the political life of Yugoslavia and the attitude of its 'Communists' before the Cominform resolution—of what was presently to happen? Desanti is a political correspondent who went everywhere within the New Democracies and talked to everyone. She relates, in her vivid and graphic way, this hitherto missing chapter.

I.M.

The United States and the Soviet Union, some Quaker proposals for Peace (reviewed in our last issue), published in book form by the Oxford University Press at 8*s.*, has been reprinted by the Industrial and Social Order Council of the Society of Friends at 1*s.*

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With better support to our Development Fund and an effort by every reader to extend the circulation, to what heights we can rise! Here's a suggestion for readers who get their copy through groups: what about asking the literature secretary to order an extra copy or copies, guaranteeing to sell it or take it up if unsold?'

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This question of expanding circulation is, of course, a very important one. When you get right down to it, the way it usually happens is that enthusiastic readers pass on their enthusiasm—and often their copy—to work-mates, friends and neighbours. Or they make a point of seeing that *Labour Monthly* is in the local library, and, if not, why not. Now that wartime paper controls are lifted we can arrange to send a specimen copy to anyone you think should get acquainted with it.

THE RELIEF OF MANCHESTER

Quite a few readers are showing interest in the 'stand in' plan proposed last month by 'Exeter'. They will not be appearing in the list below until next month; but Mancunians will be relieved to hear that a reader who once lived there is paying 1s. a month to put Manchester in the 'steady money' group, so that she will not have the shame of having 'Exeter', as this month, 'standing in' for her. You remember the details? You can pay a minimum of 1s. a month to 'stand in' for some town which does not yet provide a regular guarantee. When some indignant citizen or friend of the city rescues it from your patronage and transfers it (at 1s. a month) to the regular 'steady money' list, why, then you can 'stand in' for another needy orphan. The fund for February looks healthy but this is very largely due to a huge unexpected windfall from overseas. At the time of writing it doesn't look as though March total would reach

£61 6s. 9d.

Stand in money came from 'Exeter' standing in for Aberdeen, Belfast, Birmingham, Ilfracombe, Manchester, Norwich, Swansea and Weymouth, 8s; D. Mayo standing in for Bath and Rottingdean, 2s.

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Our thanks to you all.

ANGELA TUCKETT.

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